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Tense and Aspect in Edo

Constantine Yuka & Esohe Omoregbe

Department of Linguistics, University of Benin, Nigeria

This paper examines the application of basic tense and aspect in Edo. It argues that the specification of temporal distance in the language is more complex than has been recognized by previous studies (Dunn, 1998, Emovon, 1980, Aikhionbare 198), Agheyisi 1990, Omoruyi 1991, Ogie 2003 and Omozuwa 2003). Apart from the use of verbal extensions to mark tense and aspect in Edo, the role of tone in the specification of the time within which an event occurs and the distribution of such an event is shown to be more prominent than earlier studies have tended to assume. This paper exhibits both monosyllabic and disyllabic verb types with low, rising and low-high tonal patterns respectively. The thrust of the study is to revisit the Edo inflectional node (INFL) in an attempt to isolate and distinguish the various tense and aspectual morpho-syntactic units. How these lexical units interact with tone and the components of the INFL to derive appropriate tense and aspectual delineations is the focus of this paper. Our expectation is that the morpho-syntax of the Edo INFL stands to benefit from an analysis of grammatical derivational restrictions that are determined by the interaction between tone, morphology and semantics.

Preliminaries

Modern day speakers of Edo descend from the inhabitants of the ancient Benin Kingdom of Benin. There are over 2.5 million Edo speakers who live mostly in Edo State of Southern Nigeria. Edo is an Edoid language (Elugbe 1989) that belongs to Eastern Kwa which is part of the putative Western Benue-Congo group of the New Benue-Congo (NBC) (Williamson and Blench 2000). Igboanusi and Peter (2005) have listed Edo among Nigeria's important minority languages.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses the Edo tonal pattern and its role in the distinction of tense and aspect. In section 3, we review previous works on tense and aspect in Edo. Section 4 attempts an analysis of the interaction between tonal alternations verbal extensions and other tense and aspect components of the Edo INFL. Section 5 is a summary of our findings.

Previous Works on Tense and Aspect in Edo

Tense and Aspect are two important constituents of the inflectional node of any natural language. Many studies, have attempted a description of the manifestation of tense and aspect in Edo: (Dunn, 1998, Emovon, 1980, Aikhionbare 198), Agheyisi 1990, Omoruyi 1991, Ogie 2003 and Omozuwa 2003) amongst others. The basic argument that cuts across these works is that the striking similarities between tense and aspect in Edo makes it difficult to clearly make a distinction between the two. A few studies which we consider relevant to our paper are reviewed below.

Dunn (1968: 216) attempts an analysis of the Edo INFL. He splits tense into past and non-past and aspect into perfective, progressive and habitual. The modals are categorized into six units: will, necessity, intensified, used to, going to and about to. His interpretation of the Edo INFL been challenged by subsequent researchers. Unlike Dunn, Emovon (1980) preferred to divide Edo tense into: present, past and future. Aspect is evaluated from the progressive, imperfective and perfective point of view. Emovon indicates that the progressive aspect is marked by the forms $gh\dot{a}$ and $gh\dot{a}\dot{a}$, the non-progressive aspect is marked by ne, $n\dot{e}$ and ne, while the imperfect is unmarked. Our data shows enough evidence that Edo does not exhibit the mid tone which Emovon claims is part of the distinctive attributes of the forms marking aspect and tense in Edo. This paper also examines Emovon's grammatical representation of simple past tense marker (*-re*) in Edo in which he opts to delete the initial /r/ in the suffix leading to the apparent interpretation that the complex morphological V+ suffix is a single morphological unit. 1 below shows some of Emovon's examples.

1.a) ì dáé	for	ìdáré	'I drank'
b) ì giéé	for	ì giéré	' I laughed'
c) ò rréè	for	ò rrérè	'he came'

1 above shows that Emovons choice of morphological representation conflicts with the correct interpretation of the Edo tonal pattern since 1 depicts tonal clusters that are contestable. Since Emovon fails to provide lexical translations to his examples, it is difficult to follow his syntactic representations and arguments. We address these issues in section 4 of our paper.

Aikhonbare (1986:66) correctly asserts that Edo is a language in which words acquire tones in specific contexts. He adds that apart from the –rv suffix of the simple past tense, all tenses are marked by tone variation. We demonstrate that the specification of time in Edo does not restrict itself to the tones or suffixes alone. Our data reveals that tonal alternations on both verbal and non-verbal elements within sentential constructions contribute to specifying the time of an event.

Like Emovon (1980), Agheyisi (1990:68) splits tense into: past, present and future. She marks the past and future tense with suffixes and other lexical particles. The present tense is marked with a low tone or a low-high tone. Unlike Emovon and Dunn, Agheyisi recognizes the basic opposition between the perfective/imperfective aspectual distinctions in Edo. She identifies *gha* as the imperfective marker and *ne* as the perfective marker as shown in 2 below;

2. a) Òzó	déè	èbé	ne (
Ozo	buy	book	PERF
'Ozo boı	ught a	book'	

b) Òzó	ghá	kpìló
Ozo	IMPERF	sweep
'Ozo i	s sweeping'	

Like Emovon, she combines the verb and the past tense suffix (-*re*) as a single lexical unit (see 2a, *dèé* rather than *dèré*).

366

Omoruyi (1991) proposes that the simple past tense in Edo is marked by both verbal inflections and tonal changes while aspect and modality are represented with auxiliaries. We add that adverbials and verbal extensions are prominent in the location of events on the Edo time line. The following examples culled from Omoruyi (1991: 2) illustrate the different aspectual markers he employs.

2. a) Òsàsú dérè Osasu pst-fall 'Osasu fell'
b) Òzó sàámén Osasu pst-jump 'Ozo jumped'
c) Íràn rhàárè

they pst-steal 'They stole'

The Inceptive and terminative notions in the language are marked by *sue* n (begin and *fó* (finish) as in 3 below;

3. a)0⁻ sue vàbàré nè à ré ne ́ begin food that one eat already he 'He has began to eat' b) 0 ` rrí èvbàré fó ne he pst-eat food finish already 'He has finished eating'

Interestingly, Ogie (2003:2) demonstrates that tense and aspect in Edo are marked by tone, suffixation and the use of auxiliaries as shown in her examples below presented as our example 4.

- 4. a) Òtà gbén Òta pres-intrn-write 'Ota writes'
 - b) Òtà gbénrèn èbé ota pres-trn-write book 'Ota writes a book'
 - c) Òtà gbén ébé Ota pst-trn-write book 'Ota wrote a book'
 - d) Òsàró ghá tié ebe
 Osaro Fut-prog read book
 'Osaro will be reading a book'

- e) Òzó rá khmé Ozo incept bathe 'Ozo is about to bathe'
- f) Òzó rrí èvbàré ne □
 Ozo pst-eat food perf
 Ozo has eaten food'
- h) Òzó rhùlérè kpàá
 Ozo pst-run go
 Ozo ran away (from the speaker)

4a-d illustrates Òtà's present and past tense, while 3e-h shows the progressive, inceptive and perfective markers respectively. We argue that her syntactic positions of tense, aspect and mood are faulty.

Omozuwa (2003), like Agheyisi (1986), recognizes the dichotomy between the perfective and non-perfective marker and differentiates them with tones as shown in 6 below;

5.a) Ò le evbare [ò lè èβàré] she/he pres-cook food 'She/he is cooking' b) O le evbare lè èβàré] [Ò] food she/he pst-cook 'She/he cooked' c) Ekí lo ehuien [Ekì lò ÈhyÉ] Eki pres-grind pepper 'Eki is grinding pepper' d) Ekí lo ehuien [Ekì ló EhyE] Eki pst-grind pepper 'Eki ground pepper'

In the examples above, the minimal aspectual distinctions are conveyed by the tones on monosyllabic verbs. In example 6 below, the past perfective verb form is marked by a heightened rising tone (Omozuwa 1987). As in 5, the low/high contrast is maintained.

6. a) Agho kpee ema [àyò kpe◊ èmà] Agho pres-beat drum 'Agho is drumming'
b) Agho kpee ema [àyò kpe◊ èmà] Agho pst-beat drum 'Agho drummed' Omuzuwa's analysis does make clear the difference between the simple rising tone and the heightened rising tone. In section 4 of this paper provides this difference and proposes a diacritic to mark the difference.

Tonal patterns in Edo

There are basically two tones in Edo: the high [[']] and low [[`]] tones that the language employs contrastively to semantically distinguish lexical items with identical segments. The examples below show the distinctive import of these tones.

7a)	ówé	'broom'	òwè	'leg'
b)	ówá	'market'	òwá	'house
c)	íbấ	'evil'	íbà	'mud seat'
d)	ùkpó	'year'	úpkò	'road'
e)	ódó	'mortar'	ódò	'a kind of potash used to thicken native soup'
f)	ákhuè	'morrow'	àkhue	'bath'
g)	àgo (¯	'village	àgò	'crookedness'

8 above, shows disyllabic verbs in which the tone patterns: HH, LL, LH and HL. Other The combination of the high and low tones can also occur within disyllabic as well as polysyllabic words as shown below.

8.	a)ágádá	'bow leg'	àgádà	'a type of dance'
	b) ùkhúnmwù	'famine'	ùkhùnmù	'medicine'
	c)ùpkòkpò	'harassment'	úkpókpò	'stick'
	d) èkàrhà	'umbrella'	èkhárhà	'peom/recitation'
	e)èkhàrhà	'animal'	áránmwè	'tongue'

In 8, the high and the low tone combine in a sequence to derive L-L-L, H-H-H, L-H-L and H-H-L pattern. Omozuwa (2003: 57-58) shows that the low tone and the rising tone also contrast lexically in Edo. The low-rising tone pattern which is prominent in aspectual distinction in Edo, occurs with the CVV verbs while the CV verb types in 9 below take the low tones.

9.	a)	dè	'fall'	dee◊	'tie;
	b)	sà	'fetch'	saa◊	'busrt'
	c)	dà	'drink'	daa◊◊	'collect'
	d)	bò	'build'	boo◊	'pacify'
	e)	kà	'count'	kaa◊	'dry'

It may not be totally wrong to posit from 8 and 9 that the low tone is a fundamental tone height in Edo. But each tone height is as important as the other in their role to specify the time and duration of events as we will see in the next section of this paper.

The Present Study

In this paper, we are interested not only in the simple basic tense and aspect marking in Edo but also in the relationship that exists between tone and the graduations of tense and aspect as well. Apart from illustrating the operation of tone in tense differentiation, these examples reveal that tense in Edo describes events around the deitic centre. The Edo native speaker's distinction of tense and the segmentation of the life of an event are deeply rooted in his/her interpretation of time (*eghe*). In the following sections, we present an analysis of this time in Edo with an eye on some of the major claims in the previous works reviewed in section 2 of this paper.

Tense in Edo

The Edo native speaker makes the distinction between three different times point in locating an event. Theses specification of these events is conceived within *eghe* (time). We follow most of the previous studies to maintain the traditional three-way distinction of tense: past, present and future, shown in 10 below.



This time axis in10 shows the three major conceptions of time points as interpreted by the native speaker of Edo. We take our premise in the analysis of components of the Edo from 9 and examine the morpho-syntactic relations that enable the proper delineation of the time of events and their duration in Edo.

The Past Tense

The past tense signals an event frame that precedes the moment of speech. It is located at a point to the left of the present time point on the time line. In Edo, past tense is marked by an overt morphologically realized element generally referred to in the literature as the -rv. The basic morphological form of this suffix is posited as -re. -rehas phonologically conditioned variants: -re, -ri, -ru, -ro, -ren, -rin and -run whose morphological realizations depends on the nature of vowel occurring in the verb stems to which it is attached.

Example 11 shows a cross section of such phonological variation given the environment of occurrence of the –rv suffix in Edo.

11. a) gbé dance	-	gbé-rè dance + pst	b) fi throw	→	fír-rí throw + pst
c) kùú play	→	kùú-rù play + pst	d) gbà tie	→	gbá-rè tie + pst
e) fàn	-	fán-rèn	f) do \overline{n}	→	do -rèn

save	save + pst	learn	learn + pst
g) buun →	buun-run	i) ban →	bán-rèn
break	break + pst	peel	peel m + pst

The -rv suffix in Edo marks the simple past (Agheyisi, 1990, Omoruyi, 1991) as well as pluralizing. Both morphological processes involve suffixation either as the simple past tense suffix $-r\dot{e}$ or the plural suffix- $l\dot{e}$. Like the $-r\dot{e}$ suffix, the $-l\dot{e}$ suffix also has phonologically conditioned variants of the form: $-l\dot{e}$, $-l\dot{o}$, -ne, -no. These variants are determined by the final vowel of the verb stem. The two forms of suffixation can occur with one verb stem as shown in the examples below:

12 a)	sò	só +-rò	so + -ló	rò + -rò
	weep	weep + pst	weep + pl. w	veep + iterative
b)	váa	$v\dot{\dot{a}}$ + -rè	va + -lo ´-	rè +- rè
	split	split + pst	split + pl	split + iterative
c).	wù die	wú + -rù die + pst	wù + -ló die + pl (i.e. as in mo	wu + -rò die + iterative re <i>than one person</i>)

These examples show that the plural suffix syntactically precedes the past tense suffix bearing an appropriate tone. Unlike other African languages that select a single tone mark or a particular lexical form to mark past tense, transitivity and the syllabic composition of the verb stem determines the tone pattern that designates past tense in Edo. Past tense on transitive CV verb stems is marked with a high tone.

13. a) de□	→	O de èbé he pst-buy book 'He bought a book'
b) sa	→	Òzó sá àmè Ozo pst-fetch water 'Ozo fetched water
c) kpe	→	Èkì kpé òkpán Eki pst-wash plates 'Eki washed plates'

For intransitive CV/CVV verb stems, past tense is marked with a simple high tone plus an –rv suffix as shown in example 14.

14. a) de	->	O dérè	b) so	\rightarrow	Èkì	sórò
		he pst-buy			Eki	pst-weep
		'He fell'			'Eki v	wept'
c) lee	→	O lee◊rè		d) kuu	->	O kuu◊rù

	he pst-run 'He ran'		pst-play played'
e) loo →	Ó loo◊' ùpkòn he pst-iron cloth 'He ironed the cloth'	f) Òzó hoo◊'Ozo pst-wash clothOzo washed the cloth	ùpkpòn ,

Notice from 14 that unlike the CV intransitive stem which bears a high tone, the CVV intransitive stem bears a rising tone (see example c-d) in addition to the -rv suffix bearing a low tone on the vowel. With transitive CVV verb stems, past tense is reflected as a heightened rising tone as shown in 14 e-f. Omozuwa, (2003) proposed the heightened rising tone but does not differentiate it from the simple rising tone ($boo \Diamond$). This study suggests a superscript diacritic marked on the rising tone ($boo \Diamond'$) o distinguish the two tone patterns.

The Edo native speaker conceives past tense as that event that occurred before the moment of speech. To appropriately locate exact time points in the past, relevant time adverbials are employed: $n \dot{o} d \dot{e}$ 'yesterday', $n \dot{u} k p \dot{o}$ 'last year' $n o i n \dot{e} \dot{e}$ 'in the morning', $n e \Box d e \Box$ 'in the olden days' Data from Edo does not reveal that Edo differentiates between today past, later today past, yesterday past, and remote past. Some African languages like Lamnso' morphologically distinguish such past tense types.

The Present Tense

Events that are simultaneous with the moment of speech are said to be in the present tense. In Edo, such events are marked distinctly on different morphological verb forms. In example 15, we present sentences that portray events that are ongoing at the moment of speaking. Notice once more the bahaviour of tone and the role of syllable structure in determining the semantic interpretation of each derivation.

15. (a) Òtà lè Ota pres-cook	èvbàré food	b) Òzó kpè Ozo pres-w	1	
'Ota is cooking food'		'Ozo is washing plates'		
• •	ep house) Úyì dolo Uyi pres-sew use' "Uyi is sewin		
d) Òzó hoo◊ Ozo pres-v 'Ozo is wash	vash cloth) Òzó loo◊ Ozo pres-ir 'Ozo is ir		

In 15, present tense is marked on the transitive CV verb stem as a low tone. On the transitive CVCV verb stems, it is reflected as low-low and a rising tone on transitive CVV.

Some verbs in Edo exhibit the CVV syllable structure (dèé 'tie'; kpàá, 'leave'; kpèé, 'beat' etc. As we have noticed, others have the CV syllable structure. Basically, the

CVV verbs bear low-high tones while the CV verbs bear either a low or a high tone. Omozuwa (2003) analyses the CVV verb types to have a CV phonemic structure with a rising tone: de [de]: dee [de]. Phonemically and semantically plausible as this analysis is, the syntactic ordering of tone bearing segments and their interpretation becomes problematic since the rising tone cannot be explicitly reflected on the segment that rightly bears it. We therefore adopt the rising tone proposal, but reflect the verb stem with a long vowel. The rising tone is borne by the first vowel segment.

Example 16 below reveals that present tense is marked as a high tone on intransitive CV verb stems. It is reflected as low-high on intransitive CVCV verbs and as a rising tone on CVV intransitive verb stems.

16. a) Úyì só Úyì pres-sweep 'Uyi is sweeping'	b)	Úyì gbé Uyi pres-dance 'Uyi is dancing
c) Ó rré he pres-come 'He is coming'	d)	Ó winná he pres-work 'He is working'
e)Ekita gboo◊ dog pres-bark 'The dog is barking'	f)	Úyì ghee◊ Uyi pres-fornicate 'Uyi is fornicating'

The Future Tense

The future tense locates events in some time ahead from the moment of speech. In Edo, it is marked by the overt preverbal morphological form: 'ghá' which bears a high tone. Example 17 shows that the tones borne by verb stems preceded by 'ghá' do not vary the tones they bear along transitivity lines as is the case with past tense in the language.

 17. (a) Ò ghá dé imo ító he fut. buycar 'He will buy a car' 	(b)	O ghá gbé he fut. dance 'He will dance'
 (c) Òtà ghá kpòló òwá we fut. sweep house 'We will sweep the house' 	(d)	Ò ghá wìnná he fut. dream 'He will jump'
 (e) Òzó ghá daa◊ àmè Ozo fut collect water 'Ozo will fetch water' 	(f)	Ò ghá lee◊ he fut run 'He will run'

gha is homophonous with a wh-question word 'gha' (who) in one of the wh-question types in Edo.

17.(a) Gha ere O dee	(b) Gha ere u gualo
Wh+ human it-be he prog-come	Wh+human it-be you find

'Who is coming'?

'Whom are you looking for'?

Agheyisi (1990:89) notes that the function of $gh\dot{a}$ as a future tense marker is secondary; it occurs most systematically in indicative affirmative sentences. She says its occurrence in many syntactic constructions is more identified with mood serving to mark a variety of meanings ranging from potential, obligation, to optative. We add that $gh\dot{a}$ undergoes tonal alternation along with some of the elements in construction with it, to express different meanings as in (18).

18. (a) Ò ghá rré	b) Ó ghà rrè
he fut come	He fut come
'He will come'	'He would have come' (wish)
(c) Ó ghá rré	d) Ò ghá rré
He asp.come	he Aff come
'He must come' (obligation)	'If he comes'

In 18a, $gh\dot{a}$ with a high tone marks future tense. In 18b it takes a low tone which when combines with the low tone of the subject NP to express a conditional event In 18c ghà bears a low tone complemented by the high tone on the subject NP to encode obligation.

The semantic interpretation of the different sentences above is greatly determined by the tonal alternations in the form *gha*, the subj. pronoun and even the syllable structure of the verb. Based on these examples and those of Agheyisi we propose that *gha* can be better described as a tense-aspect-mood particle in Edo.

Aspectual Distinctions in Edo

Most literature limit the interpretation of aspect to the basic distinction between events that are yet to be concluded at speech time and those that have come to a close at the time of speaking.. This limited interpretation of aspect as a perfective/imperfective split has not contributed much to the understanding of the internal structure of aspect. However, current literature (Comrie, 1976; Chung and Timberlake, 1985; Frawley and Elbraum, 1992 and others) have shown that aspect is conceptually and morphologically more varied across different languages. This section of the paper focuses on those aspectual distinctions that are influenced by tonal variations.

Perfective/Imperfective Aspect

1

The main aspectual distinction in Edo found in previous works, is that which involves the opposition between perfective and imperfective aspects. Basically, perfective aspect in Edo is marked as high tone (identical with that which marks simple past tense in Edo). Perfective aspect is also marked by the overt post-verbal morphological form $n\dot{e}$ 'already'. The imperfective aspect is also marked by $n\dot{e}$ 'already'. Both aspects bear low and high tones respectively. Example 19 and twenty show the perfective and imperfective marking in basic sentences in Edo.

9 (a) Ò lè	èvabàré	nè
he pres-cook	food	prog-already

'He is already cooking food'

- (b) Ò lé èvbàré nè he pst-cook food non-prog-already 'He has already cooked food'
- (c) Ó kpòlò òwá né he pres-sweep house
 'I have bought a book'
- (d) Ò kpòló òwá né prog-already he pst-sweep house non-prog-already
 'He has swept the house'
- (e) Ò loo◊ ùkpòn né he pres-iron cloth pro 'He is already ironing the cloths'
- (f) O loo◊' ùkpòn nè he pst-iron cloth non-prog-already 'He has already ironed the cloths'

Examples 19 illustrates that progressive events are marked by both the low tone on CV verb stems; by low-low tones on CVCV stems and by a rising tone on CVV verb stems for present transitive derivations. For past tense transitive derivations, CV verb stems bear high tone. The CVCV verbs bear the low-high tone pattern while the CVV verb forms bear a heightened rising tone. The progressive particle ne \Box takes a high tone to indicate present progressive events. When it takes the low tone ne \Box signals a non-progressive event.

Conclusion

Our analysis of the Edo tense and aspect so far has been very revealing as regards the INFL and more generally about the entire VP. Contrary to previous claims, our findings reveal more elaborate tense and aspect distinctions and the fact that they can indeed be kept apart, though very minimally in some cases. They differ in their conceptions as well as their position of occurrence in the Edo INFL. The difference is clearly noticeable in constructions in which fusion does not take place. In such cases, tense and aspectual distinctions depend solely on overt morphological forms. We note the overriding influence of tones in some of the major distinctions analyzed such as the simple past tense and perfective aspect, perfective and imperfective aspects. Infact, much of the argument for the similarity between tense and aspect in Edo, gain much support from the fusion of tone marks in the different distinctions. The study has semantic implications for the entire verb system of Edo apart from morpho-syntactic ones.

Notes

- 1. V¹ represents the heightened rising tone on the CVV monosyllabic verb type proposed by Omozuwa (2003). We propose the diacritic ^I to differentiate between the regular rising tone V of the present tense and the heightened one of the past tense.
- 2. Three distinctive /r/ consonant phoneme occur in the Edo sound system represented orthographically as r, rr and rh. Only the single /r/ is p
- 3. Permitted to occur with the past tense suffix.(Omozuwa).
- 4. *Ghara*^I is a preverbal auxiliary, which marks the future progressive imperfective aspect. It bears two high tones like the past progressive marker, with the high on the second syllable being heightened. The diacritic^I is used to represent this heightening.

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